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Dawid Makowski Catholic Academy in Warsaw – Collegium Bobolanum https://orcid.org/0009-0003-6007-0393 d.makowski472@gmail.com

Lex orandi – lex credendi in the Roman Liturgy: Using the Example of the 1965 Renewal of the Good Friday Universal Prayer

1. The creation of the Good Friday universal prayer – 2. Teaching of the Second Vatican Council – 3. Renewal of Good Friday universal prayer

The phrase *lex orandi* – *lex credendi* refers to the mutual relationship between how the Church prays and how it expresses faith through its prayer, because the liturgy is a celebration of faith, and therefore also a confession of faith. This close connection between the law of prayer and the law of faith was noticed already in the 5th century, when Prosper of Aquitaine († 465), due to various doctrinal disputes of his time, pointed to liturgical prayer as a definition of the principles of faith (*legem credendi lex statute supplicandi*)². This connection between what one believes and how one prays is present in the Church to this day. This means that the Church constantly notices the connection between faith and liturgy. The liturgical celebration is the "place" where faith is expressed in the most comprehensive and universal way³.

¹ Bogdan Ferdek. 2012. "Wzajemna relacja między lex orandi a lex credendi". Studia Salvatoriana Polonica 6: 46.

² Mariusz Link. 2001. "Znaczenie i historia sentencji *lex orandi, lex credendi*". Łódzkie Studia Teologiczne 10: 244. There is a broad discussion on how this maxim was created and why it is so important, see: Paul De Clerck. 2000. "*Lex orandi, lex credendi. Un principe heuristique*". La Maison Dieu 2: 61–78.

³ Józef Kraft. 1931. "Liturgia i Ruch Liturgiczny". Mysterium Christi 3: 105.

The central element of the entire liturgical year is the Holy Paschal Triduum⁴. Then the Church experiences the greatest mysteries of salvation, paying attention to The Lord's Passover. The joyful celebration of Easter Sunday is preceded by the Passion and Death of the Lord, celebrated in a special way in the Good Friday Liturgy of the Lord's Passion. During it, the most extensive universal prayer takes place, consisting of ten invocations. There are prayers in it: for the Church, for the Pope, for all classes of the Church, for catechumens, for the unity of Christians, for Jews, for non-believers in Christ, for non-believers in God, for rulers of countries, for the distressed and suffering⁵. In this way, the Church community responds to the Apostle's call to pray for all people (cf. 1 Tim 2:1-2). It was this form of prayer – intercessory oration – that became the starting point for the formulation of the principle of lex supplicandi⁶ by the above-mentioned Prosper. This oration expresses not only ecclesiology, but also ecumenical, dogmatic and moral teaching. However, its current form is not the form in which it has always existed. A significant reform of this prayer was made in 1965 as a result of the rulings of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965)7.

The aim of this article is an attempt to show the relationship between the *lex* credendi, resulting from the council documents, and the lex orandi, shown in the liturgical texts of the Good Friday universal prayer after its renewal in 1965, in order to observe the relationship that exists between faith and the liturgy. This issue is important because today, when mentioning the reform of Holy Week, reference is made only to the modifications introduced by Pius XII († 1958) in 1955 or to the post-conciliar reform, the fruit of which is contained in the currently valid Roman Missal, the first edition of which was published in 1969–1970. The "transitional period" is lost, in which the first changes were already made, resulting from the implementation of the conciliar teachings into the liturgical life of the Church. In this way, this text is a development of the discussed issue in the period of post-conciliar reform. At the beginning, the development of these prayers will be shown against the background of cultural and theological conditions. Then, the teachings of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) will be presented, which influenced the reform of the discussed prayer in 1965. Finally, the content of the Good Friday prayer will be discussed. In this way, it is possible to observe the

⁴ Kongregacja ds. Kultu Bożego i Dyscypliny Sakramentów. 1969. *Ogólne normy roku liturgicznego i kalendarza*. Rzym, no 18.

⁵ Mszał Rzymski dla diecezji polskich. 1986. Poznań: Pallottinum, 134–140.

⁶ Link. 2001. "Znaczenie i historia sentencji lex orandi, lex credendi", 244.

⁷ Variationes in Ordinem Hebdomadæ Sanctæ inducendæ. 1965. Editio typica. Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis (futher: VHS).

reasons for the reform and their impact on maintaining the relationship between faith and liturgy.

1. The creation of the Good Friday universal prayer

Universal prayer, offered to God by the community of believers for themselves and for the entire Church and the world, was not unknown to Christians. Already in the 2nd century, the practice of reciting the universal prayer by the community during the Sunday Eucharistic assembly can be found⁸. This probably resulted from the synagogue tradition on which the original Christian communities were modeled⁹. The Second Vatican Council, wishing to reach the sources of Christian worship, ordered the reincorporation into the liturgy of universal prayer, which in the Roman rite for centuries was present only in the Good Friday liturgy, while still being vividly present in the East¹⁰. One should bear in mind that from the pontificate of Pope Gregory the Great († 604) until around the 9th century, individual parts of the canon were understood to be the equivalent of the universal prayer, i.e. of the faithful¹¹.

The modern form of universal prayer on Good Friday began to take its shape around the 3rd century¹². However, the final form of all the rites of the Good Friday liturgy can be noticed only in the 11th century, when the above-mentioned celebration was already divided into three main parts: the liturgy of the word with solemn universal prayer, adoration of the Cross and Holy Communion¹³. However, it is known that different rituals developed in different ways. Focusing on universal prayer, we should assume that it could have taken shape already in the times of Cyprian of Carthage († 258) or Pope Cornelius († 253)¹⁴. The presence of a certain prayer, which occurs between the liturgy of the word and the Eucha-

⁸ Jarosław Superson. 2018. "Istotne składniki treści czynności liturgicznych sprawowanych według Justyna Męczennika i ich ewolucja". Liturgia Sacra 1: 42.

⁹ Piotr Kulbacki. 2010. "Modlitwa powszechna jako modlitwa wiernych". Roczniki Liturgiczno-Homiletyczne, 142.

¹⁰ Michael Kunzler. 1999. *Liturgia Kościoła*. Tłum. Lucjan Balter. Poznań: Pallottinum, 346–348.

¹¹ Adam Ludwik Szafrański. 1964. "Modlitwa wiernych (oratio fidelium)". Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny 4, 232.

¹² Kulbacki. 2010. "Modlitwa powszechna jako modlitwa wiernych", 143.

¹³ Karol Litawa. 2021. Liturgia Wielkiego Tygodnia w rzymskich księgach liturgicznych od VIII do XII wieku. Kraków: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie, 53; Michael Kunzler. 1999. Liturgia Kościoła, 647.

¹⁴ Lukáš Knap. 2017. "Oratio universalis v liturgii Veľkého Piatku". Verba Theologica, 73.

ristic liturgy, is also mentioned in the *Apostolic Tradition*, which dates back to the 3rd century¹⁵.

A Syrian work entitled *The Apostolic Constitutions*, most likely dating back to the 4th century, already mentioned forms of intercessory prayers. The first of them was divided into eighteen invocations, which included supplications: for peace and order in the world and for the holy Churches; for the holy, catholic and apostolic Church of God; for the local Christian community; for all the bishops of the world; for the local bishop and the places he leads; for local priests; for those serving in the Church; for lectors, cantors, virgins, widows, orphans, spouses and parents; for eunuchs; for those who bring gifts and give alms to the poor; for neophytes; for the sick; for those who travel by sea and by land, and for those in mines, in exile, in prison, in chains, and in captivity; for the enemies and those who hate Christians; for those who have gone astray; for the children of the Church; for each other; for every Christian¹⁶.

The second form of such prayer had five invocations: for the local Church, the people, all bishops, priests, and ministers, and for the entire assembly of the Church; for kings and those in power; for the dead; about the weather and harvest; for the newly enlightened and for each other¹⁷.

The Euchologion of Serapion of Thmuis from the same period († ca. 362) also mentions the presence of intercessory prayers in the liturgy, which consisted of invocations: for believers; for those who believed and knew the Lord Jesus; for all the people; for those in power; for the free and the unfree, men and women, the elderly and the children, the poor and the rich; for travelers; for the distressed, the prisoners and the poor; for the sick¹⁸.

Among Roman writers, the existence of this form of prayer in the liturgy was mentioned by authors such as: Innocent I († 417), Boniface I († 422) and Celestine I († 432)¹⁹. It seems that the Roman practice was such that until the 4th century this prayer was said together, and the deacon only directed the manner of the gathered people, calling them to kneel and stand up. It is only from the 4th century that uni-

¹⁵ Henryk Paprocki. 1976. "Hipolita Rzymskiego *Tradycja Apostolska*: wstęp, przekład, komentarz". Studia Theologica Varsaviensia 1: 160.

Konstytucje Apostolskie, VIII, 10, 1–22. In Synody i Kolekcje Praw. Vol. II. Ed. Arkadiusz Baron, Henryk Pietras. Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 232–233.

¹⁷ Ibid, VIII, 13, 1–11, 246–247.

¹⁸ Serpion: Euchologion, V. IN *Synody i Kolekcje Praw*. Vol. II. Ed. Arkadiusz Baron, Henryk Pietras. Kraków: WAM, 302–303.

¹⁹ Vincenzo Raffa. 1998. Liturgia eucaristica. Mistagogia della Messa: dalla storia e dalla teologia alla pastorale pratica. Roma: C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 301–305.

versal prayer begins to have a litany character, and its invocations are given by a deacon²⁰.

Although the above prayer formulations bear some similarity – not only thematic – to the contemporary known intentions of the Good Friday universal prayer, it seems that the first mentioning of its condensed existence date back to the 5th century²¹. This is probably expressed in the Gelasian Sacramentary²² created at that time, which had the following arrangement of Good Friday universal prayer: prayer for the Church²³; prayer for the pope and bishop of the place²⁴; a call for all orders of the Church²⁵; summons for the king or those in power²⁶; call for catechumens²⁷; an appeal for the faithful in various needs²⁸; a call for the unity of the Church²⁹; a call for the conversion of Jews³⁰; a call for the conversion of unbelievers³¹. This form and order

²⁰ Szafrański. 1964. "Modlitwa wiernych (oratio fidelium)", 231.

²¹ Pierre-Maria Gy. 1973. "Commentarium de nova disciplina et ritibus circa ministeria". Notitiæ, 21.

²² Broadly spoken about in this book: Jan Józef Janicki. 1997–1998. "Sakramentarz Gelazjański (*Reginensis Latinus 316*) – Zarys roli i znaczenia najstarszego mszału Kościoła". Folia Historica Cracoviensia 4–5: 139–151.

²³ "Oremus dilectissimi nobis in primis pro ecclesia sancta dei, ut e[ti]am deus et dominus noster pacificare adunare et custodire dignetur per uniuersum orbem terrarum, subiciens ei principatus et potestates, detque nobis tranqullam et quitem uitam degentibus glorificare deum patrem omnipotentem. Oremus". *Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ Ordinis Anni Circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193. 41/56)*, nr 400. 1981. Ed. Leo Eizenhöfer. Roma: Casa Editrice Herder, 65 (henceforth: SGel).

²⁴ "Oremus et pro famulo dei papa nostro sedis apostolicae Illo et pro antestite nostro Illo, ut deus omnipotens qui elegit eos in ordine episcopatus, saluos et incolumes custodiat ecclesiae suae sanctae ad regendum populum sanctum dei. Oremus". Ibid, nr 402, 65.

²⁵ "Oremus et pro omnibus episcopis, praesbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, acolytis, exorcistis, lectoribus, hostiariis, confessoribus, uirgenibus, uiduis, et pro omni populo sancto dei. Oremus". Ibid, nr 404, 65.

²⁶ "Oremus et pro christianissimo imperatore uel rege nostro Illo, ut deus omnipotens subditas illis faciat omnes barbaras nationes ad nostram perpetuam pacem. Oremus". Ibid, nr 406, 65.

^{27 &}quot;Oremus et pro caticuminis nostris, ut deus et dominus noster adaperiat aures praecordiorum ipsorum genuamque misericordiae, ut per lauacrum regenerationis accepta remissionem omnium peccatorum digni inueniantur in Christo Iesu Domino nostro. Oremus". Ibid, nr 408, 66.

²⁸ "Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, deum patrem omnipotentem, ut cunctis mundum purget erroribus, morbos auferat, famem depellat, aperiat carceres, uincula dissoluat, peregrinantibus reditum, infirmantibus sanitatem, nauigantibus portum salutis indulgeat. Oremus". Ibid, nr 410, 66.

^{29 &}quot;Oremus et pro heredicis et scismaticis, ut deus et dominus noster eruat eos ab erroribus uniuersis et ab sanctam matrem aeclesiam catholicam atque apostolicam reuocare dignetur: per. Oremus". Tamże, nr 412, 66.

³⁰ "Oremus et pro perfidis iudaeis, ut deus et dominus noster auferat uelamen de cordibus eorum, ut et ipsi cognoscant Christum Iesum dominum nostrum. Oremus". Ibid, nr 414, 66.

³¹ "Oremus et pro paganis, ut deus omnipotens auferat iniquitatem a cordibus eorum et relictis idolis suis conuertantur ad deum uerum et unicum filium eius Iesum Christum dominum nostrum: cum quo uiuit et regnat deus in unitate spiritus sanci. Oremus". Ibid, nr 416, 67.

of the invocations of the Good Friday prayer survived until 1962, when it was expressed for the last time in this form in the last edition of the Roman Missal, solemnly promulgated by Pope Pius V († 1572) in 1570³². The only major change over the centuries in the celebration of this part of the Good Friday Liturgy was the addition of the rite of kneeling and rising after this prayer to the invocation for the Jews, as well as the addition of the faithful's response: "Amen" to the priest's prayer³³.

The form of the above prayers was probably established around the 7th century³⁴. It is expressed in both contemporary and later liturgical books, including: the Gregorian Sacramentary from the 6th century, the Prague Sacramentary from the 8th century, the Rheinau Sacramentary from the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, or the Lateran Missal, written between the 11th and 12th centuries³⁵. In each of these books, the universal prayer has its own place – it crowns the liturgy of the word and precedes the solemn adoration of the Cross³⁶.

The inclusion of such nine invocations in the solemn prayer of Good Friday was not accidental. It seems that in this way the commandment to pray for all people was fulfilled, because the Savior "desires all people to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim 2:4). The invocation for the Church, for the Pope, and for the local bishop naturally appeared in the intentions of the above-mentioned prayer, because through these requests the catholicity, i.e. the universality and unity of the community of believers, was expressed³⁷. The summons for the king and those in power was refused due to the Apostle's command (cf. 1 Tim 2:1-2). Mentioning catechumens was probably the result of the fact that for centuries the Church had been praying for those who were preparing for baptism³⁸. The request for the faithful in various needs seems to be related to the words of the Apostle: "Weep with those who weep" (Rom 12:15), and: "Pray for one another,

³² See. Missale Romanum ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini restitutum Summorum Pontificium cura recognitum. 1962. Editio Typica. Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 165–175 (next: MR/62).

³³ Brunon Magott. 1955. "Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae instauratus. Najważniejsze rubryki z obrzędów odnowionego Wielkiego Tygodnia". Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny 4–5: 243.

³⁴ Łukasz Kamykowski. 1988. "Sens przeobrażeń modlitwy za Żydów w rzymskiej liturgii Wielkiego Piątku". Analecta Cracoviensia 20: 178.

³⁵ Manlio Sodi, Alessandro Toniolo, Placide Bruylants. 2010. *Liturgia Tridentina. Fontes – Indices – Concordantia (1568–1962)*. Cittá del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 44.

³⁶ Litawa. 2021. Liturgia Wielkiego Tygodnia w rzymskich księgach liturgicznych od VIII do XII wieku, 55.

³⁷ Walerian Szubzda. 1962. "Kościół a Kościoły według doktryny świętego Pawła". Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny 6: 330–336.

³⁸ Antoni Żurek. 2019. *Inicjacja w Kościele starożytnym*. Kraków: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II, 30–31.

that you may be healed" (James 5:16). The prayer for the unity of the Church was certainly influenced by medieval departures from the faith, which resulted in many schisms and doctrinal errors³⁹. The intention to convert the Jews resulted from the fact that they rejected the Messiah, and it was to them that Christ came to find them (cf. Mt 15:21-28). Making requests for unbelievers is a continuation of the mission of the Apostles who turned to the pagans to convert them⁴⁰.

In this way, the Good Friday universal prayer truly covered the needs of the entire Church and the entire world. Therefore, such a prayer can be called "the highest form of giving the gift of love"⁴¹.

2. Teaching of the Second Vatican Council

Four invocations were subject to liturgical renewal in 1965: the first, seventh, eighth and ninth⁴². In this way, the intentions that expressed the existing ecclesiology, ecumenical theology, understanding of Christianity, as well as the attitude of the Church towards non-believers were changed. Therefore, the conciliar teaching should be deepened primarily in these four aspects.

The Church constantly proclaims the truth about salvation, thus fulfilling its mission which the Apostles received from Christ (cf. Mt 28:19-20). In this way it is a divine-human community⁴³. The Council's Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen Gentium* indicated that Christ, through the mission of the Church, pours out truth and grace on everyone⁴⁴. According to the conciliar teaching, the People of God is a common community of the baptized who profess the accepted faith and remain connected with the church community and its hierarchy⁴⁵. This shows that someone who: fully accepts the teachings of the Church can be called a faithful of the Church; fully accepts all the means established in the Church by which salvation is sought; remains in communion with Christ, who

³⁹ For more information on this subject, see: Marek Starowieyski. 2016. *Sobory niepodzielonego Kościola*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo M.

⁴⁰ Guy Bedouelle. 1994. Kościół w dziejach. Trans. Aldona Fabiś. Poznań: Pallottinum, 51.

⁴¹ Kulbacki. 2010. "Modlitwa powszechna jako modlitwa wiernych", 150.

⁴² VHS, s. 19-22.

⁴³ Andrzej Proniewski. 2006. "Kościół a świat. Recepcja i aktualność myśli Soboru Watykańskiego II". Rocznik Teologii Katolickiej 5: 119–120.

⁴⁴ Lumen Gentium 8.

⁴⁵ Marian Żurowski. 1967. "Prawne aspekty konstytucji *Lumen Gentium*". Prawo Kanoniczne: kwartalnik prawno-historyczny 10: 63–64.

governs the Church through the office of the Pope and bishops, maintaining the bonds of profession of faith, sacraments, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and community⁴⁶.

An important phrase for the conciliar ecclesiology is the "Church of Christ", which is understood as the community of "true believers in Jesus Christ, established by God for the salvation of people, which is united by God's Law, hierarchy and holy sacraments"⁴⁷. It is that Church which confesses itself as "one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church", subsisting in the Catholic Church⁴⁸. At the same time, however, it is noticed that in many other Christian communities, despite their separation from Catholicism, there are elements of truth and sanctification⁴⁹. It is they who "encourage Catholic unity"⁵⁰. This approach to the Church is a certain *novum*, significantly developing the teachings of ancient times. The Council uses the important expression "fully" (*plene*), which is important inasmuch as it indicates that members of non-Catholic Christian communities also have some share in the Church of Christ, but it is not full⁵¹.

In the Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* was mentioned that the heritage of these communities constitutes an essential element of the entire Church of Christ⁵². The Council thus expressed its recognition of the institutions, liturgical rites, church traditions and law of the Eastern Churches, expressing hope for a return to the original unity of Catholicism⁵³. This was expressed especially in the last issues of the mentioned Decree, which indicated the need to promote unity by the Eastern Churches maintaining unity with the Holy See⁵⁴. Those who achieve Catholic unity from the separated Eastern Churches should be led to confess the Catholic faith⁵⁵. According to the Decree on Ecumenism *Unitatis redintegratio* the idea was for all Christians to

⁴⁶ Lumen Gentium 14.

⁴⁷ Mirosław Białous. 2009. "Kościół Chrystusowy w aspekcie dogmatyczno-katechetycznym". Elpis 19–20, 223.

⁴⁸ Lumen Gentium 8.

⁴⁹ Marian Żurowski. 1967. "Prawne aspekty konstytucji Lumen Gentium", 65.

⁵⁰ Lumen Gentium 8.

⁵¹ Romuald Łukaszyk. 1967. "Problem przynależności do Kościoła Chrystusowego w ujęciu Konstytucji *Lumen Gentium* Soboru Watykańskiego II". Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne 2: 72.

⁵² Orientalium Ecclesiarum 5.

⁵³ Andrzej Kaim. 2004. "W połowie drogi. Dekret o Katolickich Kościołach Wschodnich *Orientalium Eccesiarum*" w 40 lat od Vaticanum II". Roczniki Teologiczne 8: 156.

⁵⁴ Orientalium Ecclesiarum 25.

⁵⁵ Ibid, no 25.

profess faith in One God, who is the Holy Trinity, and in the Incarnation of the Son of God⁵⁶.

The Council also pointed out that there are those who, not belonging to the Church of Christ, follow the path of truth, seeking God with their hearts and guided by their conscience: members of the Mosaic religion, people who recognize the Creator, seek the unknown God, and people who do not seek Him for the sake of innocent ignorance⁵⁷. The mission of the Church towards these people cannot in any way be based on convincing them to believe by force. The dogmatic constitution on the Church *Gaudium et spes* indicated that God wants man to make a conscious and free choice to believe in Him⁵⁸. It is therefore understandable that the Church is not to rule over the world (in the external aspect) using human means, but rather to be a sign that abounds in faith and love – the fruits of this relationship between herself and God⁵⁹.

Here the issue of the relationship between the Church and Judaism emerges in a special way. Well, the conciliar Declaration on the attitude of the Church towards non-Christian religions, *Nostra ætate* indicated the confidence that fills the Church that the day will come when Jews will see the promised Messiah in Christ⁶⁰. This is justified insofar as both religions draw from the same source – the Revelation of God, who initially spoke to the Patriarchs⁶¹. It is also necessary to mention the attitude of the Church towards other non-Christian denominations. Well, the Second Vatican Council clearly opposed discrimination and persecution of anyone based on race, skin color, social origin or religion, thus pointing out that the presence of various religions comes from the fact that people expect from them "answers to the deep mysteries of existence"⁶². Therefore, all religions are treated by the Church with due respect, because while noticing the differences between itself and them, it also notices certain similar elements that can become a contribution to ecumenical activity, the aim of which is to bring everyone to the unity of faith in Christ⁶³. After all, "all people are called to the unity of the People of God (…)"⁶⁴.

⁵⁶ Unitatis redintegratio 12.

⁵⁷ Lumen Gentium 16.

⁵⁸ Gaudium et spes 17.

⁵⁹ Ibid, no 42.

⁶⁰ Nostra aetate 4.

⁶¹ Sylwia Górzna. 2015. "Polityczny wymiar dialogu Kościoła katolickiego z judaizmem w wybranych dokumentach Kurii Rzymskiej". Studia Oecumenica 15: 294.

⁶² Nostra aetate 1

⁶³ Dariusz Salamon. 2000. "Krótka panorama ekumeniczna". Sympozjum 1–6: 14–15.

⁶⁴ Lumen Gentium 13.

It is therefore noticeable here that the Second Vatican Council in its teaching shed new light on the understanding not only of the Church, but also of other Christian denominations and non-Christian religions. It is therefore not surprising that it did not fully correspond to the earlier doctrine.

3. Renewal of Good Friday universal prayer

In the book that has already been mentioned several times, and which modified some of the Holy Week rituals, there appeared, among others: modification of the Good Friday universal prayer calls⁶⁵. Undoubtedly, this renewal was related to the conciliar teaching, which was presented above⁶⁶. The decree itself, which is a kind of introduction to this book, indicates that the modifications to the solemn Good Friday prayer were made for ecumenical reasons⁶⁷.

The first appeal that was modified was a petition for the Church, from which the words: *subíciens ei principátus et potestátes* were removed⁶⁸. In this way, the theological assumption was expressed in the prayer that the Church is not to rule over the powers and authorities of the world, but is to be a sign for them that shines with faith and love⁶⁹. It is therefore not surprising that the new wording of this prayer focused *sensu stricto* on the needs of the Church, pointing only to its internal aspect, asking, on the one hand, to guard it in peace and unity, and, on the other hand, for the grace of a quiet and peaceful life for its members⁷⁰.

The next call that changed was the seventh intention, which from then on was not a request for the unity of the Church, but for the unity of Christians (*pro unitate Christianorum*)⁷¹. Both it and the prayer that followed it were newly composed texts⁷². The wording of the new intention was not the same as the old one, which included a request to free heretics and schismatics from their errors and return them

⁶⁵ Knap. 2017. "Oratio universalis v liturgii Vel'kého piatku", 78.

 $^{^{66}}$ Kamykowski. 1988. "Sens przeobrażeń modlitwy za Żydów w rzymskiej liturgii Wielkiego Piątku", 186.

⁶⁷ VHS 5.

^{68 &}quot;Oddając mu mocarstwa i władze". Mszał Rzymski. 1963. Poznań: Pallottinum, 359.

⁶⁹ Gaudium et spes 42.

⁷⁰ VHS 19.

⁷¹ Ibid, 20–21.

⁷² Cuthbert Johnson. 1996. The sources of the Roman Missal (1975). Proprium de Tempore. Proprium de Sanctis. Rome, 61.

to the bosom of the Church⁷³. From then on, they were asked to unite all Christian brothers in one community of the Church, so that they would all "become one" (Jn 17:21) ⁷⁴. In this way, the *lex orandi* expressed the conciliar *lex credendi*, which was expressed in the doctrine of ecumenism⁷⁵.

The request for the Jews (*pro Iudæis*) was also modified, and from now on the title did not include a mention that the Church was praying for their conversion⁷⁶. This appeal, like the previous one, was composed in 1965⁷⁷. It expressed a request for God to enlighten them to recognize Christ as Savior⁷⁸. The prayer following this call emphasized the role of Abraham and his inheritance along with a promise that was not revoked⁷⁹. In this way, the Church expressed its confidence in the transformation of the hearts of the Jews, which was expressed in the conciliar documents⁸⁰. Thus the principle of faith was reflected in the prayer of the Church.

The last call has also been renewed. From then on, it was no longer a request for the conversion of unbelievers, but for those who did not believe in Christ (*pro nondum in Christum credentibus*) ⁸¹. This intention included a request for the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that all non-believers in Christ – with its help – could reach full faith by walking the path of salvation⁸². This call and prayer were new⁸³. The source of this intention was the ruling issued by the council, which stated that every human being is invited to enter into a saving relationship with God⁸⁴. In this way, theology was expressed in prayer.

⁷³ MR/62, 173.

⁷⁴ VHS 20–21.

⁷⁵ DE 12.

⁷⁶ MR/62, 173–174; VHS, 21.

⁷⁷ Johnson. 1996. The sources of the Roman Missal (1975). Proprium de Tempore. Proprium de Sanctis, 61.

⁷⁸ VHS 21.

⁷⁹ Knap. 2017. "Oratio universalis v liturgii Vel'kého Piatku", 78.

⁸⁰ Nostra aetate 4.

⁸¹ MR/62, 174-175; VHS, 22.

⁸² VHS, 22.

⁸³ Johnson. 1996. The sources of the Roman Missal (1975). Proprium de Tempore. Proprium de Sanctis, 61.

⁸⁴ Gaudium et spes 21.

Therefore, we can see from this example that the council's rulings, constituting the *lex credendi* of the Church, were reproduced in prayer, i.e. *lex orandi*. In this way, the liturgy is truly a prayed theology⁸⁵.

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The common prayer of Good Friday, present in the Church at least from around the 5th century, was a continuous expression of the Church's faith, containing requests that responded to the needs of people of particular centuries⁸⁶. This can be best seen in the example of calling for the Jews⁸⁷. Initially, this prayer presented them as unbelievers who did not see the signs of the times and did not recognize Christ as the Savior⁸⁸. To emphasize this message, from around the 13th century until 1955 there was no kneeling after this call and the people did not respond to the priest's prayer with the word: "Amen", as was the case during eight other calls⁸⁹. It was only in the 20th century, when ecumenism developed quite strongly, that the issue of Jews began to be somewhat "softened" in the Good Friday universal prayer, which in 1955 was manifested by adding the gesture of kneeling and rising to the call for them, as well as the acclamation of the faithful after the priest's oration⁹⁰. The next stage in the modification of this request was its fundamental change, made in 1965, when the wording about their infidelity was removed from the eighth request⁹¹. It is known, however, that the process of change did not stop at all when the renewed liturgical books necessary for the celebration of Holy Mass were published in 1970, but it is still ongoing, and its last sign was the modification of this call in 2008⁹².

This allows us to see that liturgical rites do not create faith, but express it, which makes their stagnation impossible. Theology and liturgy exist in a mutual,

⁸⁵ Dominik Jurczak. 2021. Mistagogia liturgii słowa. In Modlić się Mszą świętą. Ed. Krzysztof Porosło, 39. Kraków: WAM, Fundacja Dominikański Ośrodek Liturgiczny.

⁸⁶ Knap. 2017. "Oratio universalis v liturgii Vel'kého Piatku", 80.

⁸⁷ For a broad discussion on this subject, see.: Andrea Nicolotti. 2012. "Perfidia Iudaica". Le tormentate vicende di un'orazione liturgica prima e dopo Erik Peterson. In *Erik Peterson. La presenza teologica di un outsider*. Ed. Giancarlo Caronello, 477–514. Cittá del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

⁸⁸ SGel 414, 66.

⁸⁹ This was explained by the fact that the Jews did not kneel before the Crucified One, but mocked Him. See. Knap. 2017. "Oratio universalis v liturgii Vel'kého piątku", 77.

Magott. 1955. "Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae instauratus. Najważniejsze rubryki z obrzędów odnowionego Wielkiego Tygodnia", 243.

⁹¹ VHS 21.

⁹² Knap. 2017. "Oratio universalis v liturgii Vel'kého piątku", 79.

servile relationship⁹³. As greater theological awareness of certain issues came to the fore, rituals also changed. It is enough to recall here the development of the Eucharistic cult in the Middle Ages, which was the result of the Church's reflection on the sacrament of the altar in the era of the emergence of various heresies. In this way, we can say that liturgy is an activity that takes different forms in different centuries⁹⁴.

The post-conciliar Council for the implementation of the Conciliar Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy stated in one of its declarations that the liturgical changes it carried out were due to the desire to have a living liturgy for people living today. The Church, which lives in the world, experiences various events together with the world and becomes a participant in them. Therefore, obedient to the Holy Spirit, he wants to increasingly become a sign for the world. It is therefore not surprising that it is subject to changes in what is external, and this is especially noticeable in the indepth theological reflection of the Second Vatican Council, during which the first liturgical books were published, which were in close connection with the doctrine adopted during the council sessions.

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⁹³ Bogusław Migut. 2009. "Relacja teologii i liturgii w ujęciu teologii liturgicznej szkoły rzymskiej". Seminare. Poszukiwania naukowe 26: 30.

⁹⁴ Joseph Ratzigner. 2012. Opera Omnia. Vol. XI. Transl. Wiesław Szymona. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 591.

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Abstract: The presented article presents the meaning of the maxim *lex orandi – lex credendi* using the example of the renewal of the Good Friday Universal Prayer in 1965. It is about the relationship that exists between the object of faith and its expression, between theology and liturgy. This relationship is particularly noticeable in the renewal of the nine invocations of the Universal Prayer of the Good Friday Liturgy, which was closely linked to the rulings of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). Therefore, this relationship is discussed in this example, considering the history of the formation of these prayers, to which the first part of the work is devoted. The second section mentions the Council's teaching on ecumenism and ecclesiology, and the third section presents the implementation of the enacted doctrine.

Keywords: Liturgy, Theology, Good Friday, Universal prayer, Second Vatican Council.

Streszczenie: Lex orandi – lex credendi w liturgii rzymskiej: na przykładzie odnowienia Modlitwy Powszechnej Wielkiego Piątku w 1965 r. Prezentowany artykuł przedstawia znaczenie sentencji lex orandi – lex credendi na przykładzie odnowy wielkopiątkowej modlitwy powszechnej w 1965 r. Chodzi o relację, jaka zachodzi pomiędzy przedmiotem wiary a jego wyrażaniem; pomiędzy teologią a liturgią. Tę relację daje się w sposób szczególny zauważyć w odnowie dziewięciu wezwań modlitwy powszechnej liturgii Wielkiego Piątku, która była ściśle związana z orzeczeniami Soboru Watykańskiego II (1962–1965). Na tym przykładzie została omówiona owa zależność z uwzględnieniem historii kształtowania się tych modlitw, czemu została poświęcona pierwsza część tekstu. Dalej jest mowa o soborowej nauce na temat ekumenizmu oraz eklezjologii. Na końcu artykuł przedstawia implementację uchwalonej doktryny.

Slowa kluczowe: liturgia, teologia, Wielki Piątek, modlitwa powszechna, Sobór Watykański II.